

ABSTRACT

HISTORY DEPARTMENT

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Black Atlanta--Struggle For Development, 1915-1925

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This thesis examines the forces that interacted to become elements against which black Atlanta struggled for development. Stimulated by a mentality existent in American society, the revised Ku Klux Klan developed enormous political power in Atlanta. In conjunction with "Jim Crow" and other forms of black repression, the Klan's influence helped to create an atmosphere for struggle.

However, determined to improve conditions affecting their lives, in 1919, black Atlantans organized to help defeat a proposed tax increase and bond referendum. The 1919 success caused sponsors of a 1921 referendum to seek black support, for which black Atlanta received improved educational facilities, including the first public high school.

The location of the high school was determined by a racial zoning ordinance adopted by the city council. Although unconstitutional, the zoning plan was influential in determining how black Atlanta was to develop.

A number of sources were used in this study, including: City Council Minutes, Ordinance Records, Board of Education Minutes, Court Cases, Interviews, Newspapers, primary and secondary books and articles.

BLACK ATLANTA--STRUGGLE FOR DEVELOPMENT
1915-1925

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INTRODUCTION

Between 1915 and 1925 several forces interacted to become elements of black community development in Atlanta, Georgia. Encouraged by an attitude existent in American society, the revived Ku Klux Klan developed into a powerful organization, socially and politically. The Invisible Empire --in conjunction with "Jim Crow" and other forms of segregation, race prejudice, and black repression--produced an atmosphere of struggle.

Within a social climate heated up by the Klan, black Atlantans attempted to improve the conditions affecting their lives. In 1919, black voters in Atlanta organized to defeat a proposed tax increase and bond referendum after discovering that the measures contained no benefits for their community. The impact made by black voters in defeating the 1919 measures caused sponsors of a 1921 referendum to seek black support, in return for which the black community received its first high school in the fifty-year history of the Atlanta school system.

The location of the first black high school was influenced by a zoning ordinance developed for the city in 1922. This zoning plan predicated, in part, on racial separation was the third generation of unconstitutional attempts

on the part of Atlanta lawmakers to keep the races separate.

Following is a description of the details surrounding those forces and how they became elements of black community development.

* Negro, Colored and black are used synonymously.

CHAPTER I

AN ATMOSPHERE FOR STRUGGLE

The Ku Klux Klan has been a traditional symbol of white supremacy and black repression. It has been suggested, however, that the Ku Klux Klan was not only an organization but that it, more generally, reflected a mentality that prevailed in American society and would continue to prevail as long as hysterical appeals were deemed necessary to uphold white supremacy.¹ Lynching, the most repressive act committed against blacks and attributable to the Klan, was an ongoing phenomenon prior to the inception of the "Invisible Empire"; this . . . continued even though the organization was officially dispersed on three different occasions.

An outgrowth of "lynch-law" mentality, the original Ku Klux Klan was a fading memory of the Reconstruction Era when, in November of 1915, it was revived by William Joseph Simmons on Stone Mountain near Atlanta, Georgia. A struggling organization for several years, "Colonel" Simmons had to mortgage his home to keep the secret society alive due to his inefficient administrative abilities. However, in

¹Frank Shay, Judge Lynch, (New York: Ives Washburn, Inc., 1938), p. 73.

1921 Simmons joined forces with Edward Young Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler, two publicity agents, who are credited with expanding the secret order through the use of commission marketing techniques, where by hundreds of recruiters throughout the country enrolled members at ten dollars a head and received commissions for their work. The Klan experienced a period of remarkable expansion which was accompanied by a wave of lawlessness and crime. Between October, 1920 and October, 1921 the New York World reported more than one-hundred crimes of violence directly attributed to the Klan. Public reaction to these outrages was specifically responsible for the October, 1921 hearing conducted into the activities of this secret society by the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives.²

While the Rules Committee investigated the Klan, the Judiciary Committee reported favorably to the House of Representatives on HR 13, an antilynching bill sponsored by Representative Leondias C. Dyer of Missouri. The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill embodied suggestions made by the Justice

²Several sources are available for the general history on the 1915 revised Ku Klux Klan, John Mecklin, The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1924), Marion Monteval, The Klan Inside Out, (Claremore: Monarch Publishing Company, 1924), Kenneth Jackson, The Ku Klux Klan In The City, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967). The congressional hearings are reprinted from a copy in the Library of Congress, Robert Fogelson and Richard Rubenstein, editors, The Hearings on the Ku Klux Klan, 1921, (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969).

Department in order to remove any doubt as to the constitutionality of the measure, which was designed to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of any state the equal protection of the laws. According to the report that accompanied HR 13: "In nearly all cases of lynching the person put to death is taken by a mob from the sheriff, marshal, or other police officer of the State, whose failure to defend and protect him denies to him the equal protection of the laws." The report further stated that: "In the 30 years from 1889 to 1918, 3224 persons were lynched, of whom 2522 were Negroes, . . . Georgia leading with 386. . ."³

At the Rules Committee hearings into the Ku Klux Klan, testimony was received from several black witnesses, speaking in behalf of the National Equal Rights League of Colored Americans, they attempted to relate the feelings of black people toward the Ku Klux Klan. The testimony of Rev. S.E.J. Watson, of Chicago, Illinois, was typical of the black witnesses; he stated: ". . . 11,000,000 of our people are discouraged and threatened in their home life and possessions and are now feeling discouraged to the point that the morale is really lowered, for many are driven in the night from possessions that they have been accumulating since the days of slavery . . . Any organization destined to so terrorize the citizenship of the country and disturb their peaceful

³U.S., Congress. House. Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill.
H.R. 13, Report Number 452, 67th Congress, 1st session,
7921 , pp. 4-5.

home relations is certainly, as we contend, a menace to the progress of that part of American citizenship. . . ."⁴

Neither the hearings conducted into the Klan by the Rules Committee nor the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill accomplished the desired goals. Paradoxically the Congressional hearings provided the Invisible Empire with vast amounts of gratuitous and invaluable advertising, which proved to be a boon to recruiting.⁵ The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill was defeated by a filibuster in the Senate, and in 1921 there were sixty-four persons lynched in the United States, of whom fifty-nine were black.⁶

During each of its manifestations the Ku Klux Klan served as an organization for black repression, including acts less severe than lynching. In fact, the Invisible Empire became politically powerful and exercised "legitimate" influence in matters pertinent not only to blacks, but also to other groups outside the Klan's definition of "American." The national influence of the Klan was demonstrated when Congressman W.D. Upshaw, Democratic representative from Georgia, delivered a pompous address introducing Wizzard

⁴Fogelson and Rubenstein, The Hearings on the KKK, p. 49.

⁵Mecklin, The Ku Klux Klan, p. 15. and Jackson, The Ku Klux Klan In The City, p. 12.

⁶Daniel T. Williams, Eight Negro Bibliographies, (Kraus Reprint Company, 1970), p. 9. Reprinted from records previously available only at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Simmons to the Congressional Committee, after the chairman stated that an introduction was not in order. And also by Thomas E. Watson, Senator from Georgia, who stated during the congressional hearing that although he was not a member he would defend the Ku Klux Klan from any unjust attacks from anybody.⁷

Although the Klan made even more powerful and spectacular gains in other states, Georgia was classified as one of three major pockets of Klan political strength in the United States. This strength was demonstrated in Georgia's 1922 gubernatorial election between incumbent Thomas Hardwick and challenger Clifford Walker. During the course of his term, Hardwick had insisted that the organization unmask and that the atrocities perpetrated by the order cease. Hardwick's actions incurred the displeasure of Klan officials who, consequently supported Walker in a substantial victory for the governorship in 1922 elections.⁸ The subsequent Klan influence in the Walker administration and his membership in the secret organization became the subject of a startling expose by Julian Harris, editor of the Columbus Enquirer-Sun.⁹

Following the exposure of Walker's membership in the

⁷Fogelson and Rubenstein, The Hearings on the Ku Klux Klan, pp. 66-67 and p. 87.

⁸Monteval, The Klan Inside Out, pp. 127-131.

⁹Scrapebook Number 5, clipping from Enquirer-Sun, October 1, 1924, Julian LaRose Harris Papers, Special Collection Division, Emory University Library.

Ku Klux Klan, Commissioner of Agriculture J.J. Brown and Commissioner of Fish and Game Peter S. Twitty admitted that they were Klansmen in good standing. The Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court, Richard Russell was also accused by the Enquirer-Sun of being a "cheap politician in sympathy with the Klan."¹⁰ Klan influence in the General Assembly of Georgia was openly asserted. In Hardwick's final message to the General Assembly, he urged the legislature to enact unmasking laws and require all secret organizations to register with the Superior Court. In a strong response to the Governor's address, Representative J.O. Wood of Fulton County, declared himself a Klansman and announced that the secret society was represented by a large number of members in the legislature.¹¹

In addition to state officials, the Ku Klux Klan could also boast of devoted members and supporters in local government. Walter Sims, was elected mayor of Atlanta in 1922 with the support of the Invisible Empire and remained closely associated with the order throughout his term. There were two Klansmen and one sympathizer on the board of education for Fulton County: Carl E. Hutcheson, an attorney and associate editor of the Searchlight, and T.H. Terrell, an attorney for the Klan until 1920; and Mrs. Julia O'Keefe Nelson. Fulton

¹⁰Ibid., Enquirer-Sun, clipping, November 16, 1923.

¹¹Clement Moseley, "The Political Influence of the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia, 1912-1925, Georgia Historical Quarterly, Volume LVII, Number 2, Summer 1973, pp. 242-243.

Superior Court Judge Gus Howard was a Klansman, along with a score of other county and municipal officials, including members of the sheriff and police departments.¹² Wizzard Simmons stated in an interview of January 9, 1921 that:

"Our invisible force for law and order is so strong in Atlanta that if the entire police department, both city and county, were abolished tomorrow the city would still be protected through the Klan".¹³

Operating from the solid position of strength it held in Atlanta, the Invisible Empire, under the banner of "one hundred percent Americanism," sought to maintain white supremacy, granting blacks a place in American society--only upon a willingness to accept a subordinate position. If a black violated his "place" the Klan assumed the responsibility of administering punishment. The nature of the violation determined the penalty dispensed, which might include: tar and feathering, burning, flogging, shooting, whipping, branding--fire and acid, mutilation, kidnapping, drowning, or some other form of physical or psychological torture.¹⁴ For example, in January, 1921 just outside Atlanta in Hall County, a white tenant farmer had been hired

¹²Ibid., p. 243.

¹³Atlanta Journal, Sunday Magazine, January 9, 1921, p. 3.

¹⁴Ralph Ginzburg, 100 Years Of Lynchings, New York: Lancer Books, 1961.

to a farm, but due to a subsequent misunderstanding with the landlord, he was replaced with a black tenant. Stimulated by this incident, the Klan drove more than three hundred blacks from the county by burning and shooting-up their homes, churches, and schools.¹⁵ However, many blacks in Atlanta and throughout the South were not waiting to be driven out by the Klan, but were migrating to the North in large numbers. A survey by the Negro-at-Large series, was conducted among southern blacks to determine why they wanted to leave the South; the results were printed in the following order:

1. The "Jim Crow" car, the product of this separate coach law that compels Negroes of every description to ride in one compartment of a railway coach, denies them the privilege of sleeping and dining cars, and in the case of street cars--obliges them to stand while several seats remain vacant waiting the possibility that some white passenger may get aboard.
2. The denial of the right of franchise, enforced usually in intimidation and mob methods.
3. The lack of equitable administration of school funds so that Negro children may be properly educated. At present Negroes pay their porportion of taxes directly and a big portion in-directly in their rents, yet Negro schools receive in some cases less than 30 per cent of their just deserts, compelling Negroes to bear the added burden of supporting the many small colleges so well known among them.

¹⁵Atlanta Independent, January 20, 1921, p. 1.

4. The segregation laws that forbid their residing outside of a designated areas-- thus leaving no room for natural expansion enforcing a fictitious value upon property rented or sold to them.
5. The generally neglected condition of streets, car service, street lighting and other public utilities in Negro neighborhoods.
6. The denial of the privileges accorded others in public parks and places of amusement--"for whites only" is a sign frequently seen in the South.
7. The lack of legal redress for insults offered their women folks and a generally prejudiced attitude of the courts.
9. The insulting and embarrassing treatment accorded Negro patrons in many stores. The brutally frank statement often heard as "we don't serve niggers."
10. The remarkably low scale of wages offered the Negro for his labor.¹⁶

Because the black exodus to the North was creating domestic and industrial labor problems in Atlanta, the Chamber of Commerce suggested that the "city pass an ordinance checking the migration of Negroes." Commenting on this proposal Benjamin J. Davis, editor of the Atlanta Independent, stated: "If our white neighbors will treat the Negroes kindly, recognizing his rights as a man, advance his wages in proportion as the cost of living advances, he will need no ordinance nor legislation to keep the Negro here."¹⁷

¹⁶Atlanta Independent, June 30, 1917, p. 6.

¹⁷Ibid., May 19, 1917, p. 4.

Blacks who were determined to stay in Atlanta sought to use the vote in their struggle to achieve fair employment, better housing, improved education for their children, and other measures of community development in spite of the "Jim Crow" system and the Ku Klux Klan. But according to Wizzard Simmons, the Invisible Empire was, "opposed to the negro being allowed to vote . . . because such suffrage means political equality and is another way of saying that the negro has as much right to occupy the office of governor or any other high position as a white man".¹⁸ Although Black voters were the victims of Klan intimidation and were excluded from white primaries, they continued according to Dr. Homer Nash, to cast their ballots in general elections in an effort to obtain better schools, housing, and living conditions.¹⁹

A severe housing shortage caused by municipal expansion, and the fire of 1917 that served to increase the strained atmosphere in Atlanta, as blacks and whites were forced into closer contact with one another. Responding to Klan-backed politicians, who made derogatory speeches about racial contact, Benjamin J. Davis printed: "The Negroes have no desire to live among white people; but if the progress of the community has thrown us together, the Negro has as

¹⁸Atlanta Journal, Sunday Magazine, January 9, 1921, p. 3.

¹⁹Interview with Homer Nash, physician on Auburn Avenue since 1910, Atlanta, Georgia, 5 March 1975.

much right to enjoy his inheritance as the white man."²⁰

Endeavoring to maintain white supremacy, a revived Ku Klux Klan, utilized a variety of repressive tactics against those individuals or groups who did not fit its definition of "one hundred percent American." Despite Klan repression, black Atlantans were committed as a community to improving schools, housing and the conditions of black life in Atlanta.

²⁰Atlanta Independent, May 26, 1917, p. 4.

CHAPTER II

REFERENDUMS AND COMPROMISE

The poor quality of public education provided for black youth prior to 1924 became a theme for struggle as the black community of Atlanta labored for an improvement in educational facilities. Public education for blacks consisted of fifteen grammar schools, which served a population that exceeded 60,000 in 1920, from which the eighth grade had been eliminated. There were an inadequate number of teachers, overcrowded schoolrooms, poorly lighted and improperly ventilated buildings, and double sessions in all fifteen schools. White facilities on the other hand consisted of three high schools and more than 40 grammar schools; habitable buildings and no double sessions.¹ High school opportunities for blacks was available in the black colleges of Atlanta.

The Atlanta public school system operated under the control of the city council until 1918, when a city charter

¹Atlanta Independent, October 6, 1917, p. 1.
Walter White, A Man Called White, New York: Viking Press, 1948, p. 29.

amendment was passed giving control to the board of education and providing for separate funding by the allocation to the school system of twenty-two percent of the city's gross revenue.² Hoping to aid the financial independence given the school board and provide salary increases for teachers, the city council submitted a property tax increase to the voters for approval. The proposed tax boost would increase the annual tax from \$12.50 per thousand to \$15.00 per thousand with one-third of the tax earmarked for educational funding.³

The tax increase proposal was submitted along with a one million dollar bond issue providing for improvement of waterworks, a motorized fire department, erection of a museum at cyclorama, and the construction of a crematory with electricity generating facilities. Prior to the scheduled March 5, 1919 referendum, a delegation was appointed from the black community which included: Dr. William F. Penn, Dr. Louis T. Wright; Harry H. Pace; Dr. John Hope; and Benjamin J. Davis, Sr. This committee appeared before the Board of Education to find out what black Atlanta would receive by supporting the measures. They were told with brutal frankness and considerable profanity that blacks would receive no benefits from the measures. This response initiated a vigorous house-to-house voter registration drive and a campaign against the

²Minutes of the Board of Education, VIII (1918), p. 119.

³Atlanta Constitution, February 9, 1919, p. 2.

issues in the third and fourth wards on the eastside and the first ward on the westside of the city, those areas with the heaviest black concentration.⁴

Officially, Mayor James L. Key and his administration along with the Board of Education, the Atlanta Teachers Association, and the Council of the Parents and Teachers provided organization and leadership in the promotion of the referendum. Essentially, their argument emphasized the benefits that would come to the city by supporting the measures, including "the completion of present construction, building of new buildings, making the necessary improvements to present plants and an increase in teachers salaries." Additionally the fire department would be motorized, improvements would be made at the waterworks, and a museum would be constructed with electrical generating facilities.⁵

White opposition leadership was provided by Judge George Hillyer and the Real Estate Association. Judge Hillyer, a well known civic leader, stated that he believed the city had enough money already coming in to make the necessary improvements and to fund the schools provided the money was properly expended. Commenting on the extravagance and wastefulness of city officials, Judge Hillyer suggested a decrease in the \$60,000.00 expended annually on automobiles.

⁴Walter White, A Man Called White, pp. 31-32, and interview with Homer Nash, M.D., Atlanta, Georgia, 5 March 1975.

⁵Atlanta Constitution, February 9, 1919, p. 2.

The Judge wanted city officials to reassess the nature of their expenditures and not place an additional burden on a public already suffering from wartime hardships.⁶

The Real Estate Association was fearful that the tax increase would hurt their business and therefore urged all renters to vote against the measures because any tax increases would be passed on in the form of higher rents.

Political critics against the issues claimed that Atlanta would over-extend its abilities for repayment, which would result in the loss of the city's credit rating. This argument, however, was soon dispelled because the municipality could issue bonds for up to seven percent of its taxable values: Atlanta had \$200 million in taxable values which would allow a bond limit of \$14 million, bonds outstanding totaled \$4 million, leaving \$10 million ceiling.

Black opposition to the measures expressed the fact that improvements would only be made in white communities and schools, leaving black children with the same overcrowded and dilapidated facilities, and, that the black citizen should no longer have to pay to improve public conditions within the city when the benefits would go only toward the betterment of white communities. H.A. Rucker, a former tax collector, wrote a letter to the editor of the Constitution wherein he stated that blacks should not support the measures

⁶Atlanta Constitution, March 1, 1919, p. 8.

because they were lied to thirty years before in a similiar election in which they had been promised better schools and street improvements but, after black support had been given and the measures passed, the promises were forgotten.⁷

All blacks did not oppose the referendum: Dr. H. Proctor of the First Congregational Church, for example, believed that blacks should support the measures as ". . . no improvements can come to the city as a whole that does not help us blacks in particular".⁸

Following the March 5, 1919 elections a serious controversy developed as to whether the measures had passed or failed. Proponents claimed that the measures had passed, but opponents claimed the measures failed. Attempting to resolve the difference, City Attorney James L. Mayson declared that the measures had passed: he interpreted the city charter to require a two-thirds majority of the votes cast, and that the two-thirds majority must constitute a majority (51%) of the votes cast in the last election. However, the City Council overturned City Attorney Mayson's decision, because the city charter, in actuality, required a referendum to poll a two-thirds majority of the votes cast, and that the two-thirds majority must constitute a majority (51%) of the reg-

⁷Atlanta Constitution, March 6, 1919, p. 4.

⁸Ibid., March 3, 1919, p. 6.

istered voters.⁹

Following the decision the controversy escalated with the proponents claiming that as was demonstrated by the closeness of the vote the council decision was not a true indication of public sentiment. Furthermore, there was intense distress over the fact that the heaviest vote against the referendum had been polled in the first, third, and fourth wards--the most segregated black communities of the city. There were claims that black voters had not understood the measures and that evil white men had confused them over the merits of the propositions. In an Independent editorial, Benjamin J. Davis assured critics that blacks accepted the responsibility for defeating the issues, and that black people had voted according to their own volition, which had been determined by the needs of the community.

The negro he observed did not believe that if more money was provided his interests would be safeguarded. He believed that the constituted authority would continue to spend all the money for white betterment in public schools, city improvements and city utilities, as they had heretofore done. We had not forgotten the broken promises made to us in previous bond elections, and judging our

⁹Atlanta Independent, March 8, 1919, p. 4. The distinction occurs in the difference between a majority of votes cast in the last election and a majority of registered voters--the total number of votes cast in the March 5 election was 4,047, the total number of votes cast in the last election was 3,571 and the total number of registered voters was 11,056 ---the issues failed because 4,047 was not a majority (51%) of 11,056.

white neighbors by their records, we did not feel safe in loading ourselves with additional burdens to be discriminated against.¹⁰

The argument over the elections continued until the city council decided to hold another election in order to determine unmistakably public sentiment toward the issue. The \$300.00 expense for a new election was authorized and paid for by the board of education.¹¹ The new election was scheduled for April 23, 1919, and the campaign to educate the public to the merits of the issues began anew.

Proponents of the tax increase and bond referendum utilized, for the most part, the same tactics employed in the previous election, emphasizing the need for improvements in the city and the school system. Anticipating a salary increase for its members if the measures were successful at the polls, the Atlanta Teachers Association increased its activities in support of the referendum. Speaking at a rally sponsored by the Association, Mayor Key praised the organization and returned to the subject their promised raise, stating: "It is now time for the city to make some sacrifices, the teachers have done this long enough."¹²

Attempting to use the strong vote cast against the measures by black voters as a tool for support in the white

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Minutes of the Board of Education, March 20, 1919.

¹²Atlanta Constitution, March 11, 1919, p. 1.

communities, Attorney C.D. McKinny in a speech before the Atlanta Teachers Association stated:

We have been hindered by the Negro, or at any rate, have allowed the Negro to hinder our progress. . . But if we withhold our means. . . we are starving the minds of all white children concerned, denying them their heritage.¹³

Mrs. Harry Hermance, president of the Council of Parents and Teachers joined in support of the measures and issued a public plea: "Now is the time for those who profess to be friends of the schools and deeply concerned over education for their children to manifest that interest and concern."¹⁴

The opposition campaign waged by Judge Hillyer was somewhat better organized for the April 23 elections. He and Gordon Miller, a prominent Atlanta citizen, established the Tax Payer's League and continued to stress the waste and extravagance of city officials.¹⁵ And black opposition continued to reiterate concern over the fact that the black community would be excluded from the benefits of both the tax increase and the bond referendum.

The results of the second election, which was held on April 23, 1919, made it undeniably clear that the measures did not have adequate public support, since both the tax

¹³Atlanta Constitution, March 9, 1919, p. 9.

¹⁴Ibid., March 12, 1919, p. 9.

¹⁵Ibid., March 21, 1919, p. 10.

increase and the bond issue were defeated. Opponents claimed that the defeat indicated a lack of public confidence in city lawmakers. Friends of the referendum found consolation in charging the defeat to a heavy black opposition. Speaking to this charge Benjamin J. Davis stated:

The impeachment that the Negro defeated the bonds, is not altogether true. The white man defeated the bonds, largely by reason of his broken-before-election promises. Again more white men voted against bonds and higher tax rate than Negroes. Of 11,000 registered voters, less than 2,000 of them were Negroes; and if the white men were solidly together and supported the bonds and higher tax rate, how could 2,000 Negroes defeat the will of 9,000 white men?¹⁶

The school system experienced a period of deterioration that lasted from the second referendum defeat until January 20, 1921, when the city council passed an ordinance authorizing a bond election to be held on March 8, 1921. Unlike the previous issues the bond proposal of 1921 called for a total issue of \$8,850,000, four million of which would be appropriated for the school system.¹⁷

The dimensions of the 1921 bond election were altered considerably by several events that developed after the second defeat of the 1919 proposals. The compulsory atten-

¹⁶Atlanta Independent, March 8, 1919, p. 4.

¹⁷Atlanta Constitution, January 21, 1921, p. 1.

dance law, requiring all children between the ages of eight and fourteen to attend school for six months each year, was enacted on January 1, 1920. This law gave the school board some leverage as the schools were already greatly overcrowded. In essence, unless the bond issue passed, the fourteen double sessions would have to be increased in white schools, along with an increase in the 114 double sessions and 9 special afternoon classes in the black schools. Secondly, the nineteenth amendment, authorizing suffrage for women had been ratified on August 26, 1920, making the bond election the first Atlanta election in which women could vote. Thirdly, the board of education in January, 1921, had equalized salaries for male and female teachers, increasing the financial obligation on the board.¹⁸

Although the campaign for the bond election began on a relatively high note, Mayor Key gave the citizens of Atlanta little or no choice when he stated in January, 1921:

. . .we will levy an emergency tax; then submit a bond issue to the people to cover the tax; and if they authorize the bond issue I'll repeal the tax and if they do not I'll collect the emergency tax.¹⁹

Proponents of the March 8, 1921 bond election organized a campaign to enlist support from all segments of

¹⁸Board of Education Minutes X, November 29, 1920, p. 71.

¹⁹Atlanta Independent, January 20, 1921, p. 4.

Atlanta's population. Although the \$8,850,000 proposal included, in addition to the four million dollars for the school system, \$1,250,000 for sewer improvements, \$750,000 for special city building program, and \$2,850,000 for improvements in the waterworks, most of the campaign activities centered around the school issue, stressing not only the benefits to be received from passage of the measure, but also the problems that would result if the proposal was not authorized. Anticipated problems included: (1) double sessions in white and black schools; (2) early dismissal in cold weather, because of improper heating in most existing schools; (3) more sickness for both teachers and students caused by uncomfortable rooms and unsanitary plumbing; (4) exclusion of non-resident students, due to lack of room; (5) reduced education for black students; (6) insufficient accommodations for blacks in grammar schools; (8) an inability to enforce the compulsory attendance laws, which could mean the withdrawal of state funds; and (9) educational stagnation and civic disgrace.²⁰

The impact of black voters in the 1919 elections caused proponents of the 1921 referendum to seek support in the black communities. The friends of the bond issue came to black Atlanta and promised improved educational fa-

²⁰Atlanta Independent, February 17, 1921, p. 4.

cilities for black children in return for support from the black voters. Although black community leaders had received assurance of fair treatment if the bonds passed, there was still some apprehension because of past disappointments. Dr. H.R. Butler expressed his support, with hints of distrust, in a letter to the editor of the Independent:

. . . let's help to put them over and then if we cannot get justice let's take the matter into the courts and tie the whole thing up until we can get equal accommodations for our children.²¹

Doubts in the black community were substantially quelled, however, following an editorial in the Independent:

Men like Mayor Key, Mr. Frank Inman, Mr. R.J. Guinn, Mr. W. Woods White, have given their word publicly and plainly, that the Negro children are going to get justice in the distribution of this bond money, not only for schools, but for waterworks and sewers.²²

Black voters were also comforted when told that the bond money would be spent according to population; and since blacks comprised one-third of the population, one-third of the bond money would be spent on black needs.

Women, enthusiastic over the first opportunity to exercise their voting privileges, acted as strong supporting agents in favor of the bond issues. Opposition to the refer-

²¹Atlanta Independent, January 27, 1921, p. 4.

²²Ibid., February 24, 1921, p. 4.

endum came from Judge Hillyer and the Tax Payers League; they maintained that the city did not need to float the bonds if city officials would only employ less extravagance and better management of existing funds.

On March 8, 1921 Atlanta voters, black and white, male and female, turned out in record numbers to support the bond issue with a vote of 21,633 in favor and only 513 against.²³ Authorization of the bonds provided the promised educational improvement in the black community, which included the construction of Booker T. Washington High School —the first black public high school in the fifty-year history of the Atlanta school system, the construction of the E.A. Ware School, and the Orme Street School. Additionally, several white grammar schools in or near black neighborhoods were given over to black students.

At a time when attempts were made to disfranchise blacks through the use of white primaries, poll taxes, "grandfather" clauses, and Ku Klux Klan intimidation, black voters of Atlanta were able to make sufficient enough impact to the elections of 1919 to enable a compromise in the bond referendum of 1921.

²³Atlanta Journal, March 9, 1921, p. 1.

CHAPTER III

RACIAL ZONING

With the \$4,000,000 appropriation from the bond referendum of 1921, the Board of Education engaged George Strayer and N.L. Engelhardt, two educational consultants from Columbia University, to develop a comprehensive public school system for the city of Atlanta. On the basis of their survey of existing black schools in the city they concluded:

1. No plan for the adequate housing of colored children has ever existed in Atlanta.
2. At present only elementary schools are provided which care for a part of the colored children.
3. A new educational organization involving elementary, junior and senior high school training should be adopted by the Board of Education.
4. School buildings should be planned which are most accessible to the regions in which colored people live and will live in the future.
5. The standards of schoolhousing suggested . . . for new schools for white children should be carefully followed in the construction of new schools for colored children.¹

¹George Strayer and N.L. Engelhardt, Report of the

Determinations concerning the construction sites of black schools were based on population studies conducted by Strayer and Engelhardt. Distributing the black population of 1910-1920 according to the ten political wards of the city and estimating for the period of 1920-1940 yielded the following results (see Table XLIII).

"The greatest changes during the past decade have occurred in Wards 4 and 1, the 4th Ward having increased 11,339 and the 1st Ward 4,274. . . It is estimated that the largest growth for the next twenty-year period will take place in Wards 4, 7, 10, 9, and 2 respectively. . . These increases are due to the fact that the colored residential sections overlap ward boundaries."²

TABLE XLIII.
ATLANTA POPULATION, COLORED, BY WARDS.
Based on 1910 and 1920 Federal Census, and Estimates for 1940*.

Ward Number	1910	1920	Estimate for 1940	Increase from 1910 to 1920	Estimated Increase from 1920 to 1940	Per Cent. of Increase	
						1910-1920	1920-1940 (Estimated)
1	12,160	16,454	24,044	4,274	7,590	35	46
2	3,817	5,561	9,083	1,744	3,522	46	63
3	7,179	7,141	10,431	—38	3,290	—1	46
4	2,978	14,317	27,178	11,339	12,861	381	90
5	2,210	2,972	5,113	762	2,141	34	72
6	6,988	7,229	6,782	241	—447	3	—6
7	738	1,100	3,254	362	2,154	49	196
8	1,059	1,355	3,851	296	2,496	28	184
9	1,814	1,808	5,563	—6	3,755	—0.3	208
10	2,898	3,696	8,477	798	4,781	28	129
Total, Entire City	41,861	61,633	103,776	19,772	42,143	47	68

*The 1940 estimates are based on a population study of Atlanta by the Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Survey of the Public School System of Atlanta, Georgia, 1921-1922, (New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1922), p. 158.

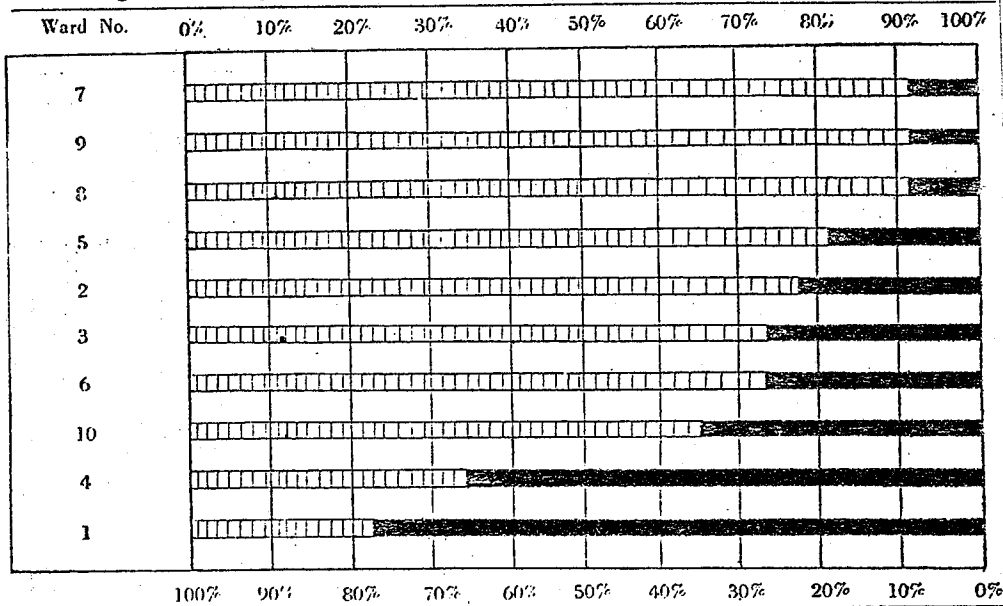
²Ibid., p. 165.

In Chart No. 14 the black and white populations are shown in percentages by wards, indicating that the largest black population resided in Ward 1.³

CHART NO. 14.

POPULATION OF ATLANTA—1920 CENSUS.
Per Cent. White and Per Cent. Colored, by Wards.

In reading the percentages for white population, use the scale at the top and the scale at the bottom for the colored population.
The light section represents the white population, the black section the colored population.



On the basis of the population studies, Strayer and Engelhardt determined the construction site of black schools obtained in the 1921 Referendum, which included E.A. Ware Elementary and Booker T. Washington--the city's first black public high school:

It is recommended that the junior high school plant for Ward 1 be developed in

³Ibid., p. 167.

conjunction with a senior high school for the boys and girls of the entire city. This combination junior and senior high school should be located to the west of the Ashby Street School.⁴

An influence to the Strayer and Engelhardt Report was the racial zoning ordinance being developed in Atlanta at the time of the report:

Atlanta, fortunately, has organized a city planning commission which is engaged in developing a zoning plan for the entire city in order that industrial and commercial encroachment may not be made upon desirable residential sections.

The zoning plan which is adopted by the city should be utilized as a factor in determining the location, character and size of schools.⁵

Robert Whitten, a nationally prominent planning consultant from Cleveland, Ohio, was designing a zoning plan that would insure Atlanta's "proper" growth and development. Prepared in the form of an ordinance, the proposal regulated the industrial, commercial, and residential uses of land. Additionally, the measure stipulated the area or lots, the size and location of yards, the height of buildings, the alignment of buildings near street front-

⁴Ibid., p. 247. The high school was named Booker T. Washington in late 1922, following the Strayer and Engelhardt Report: Minutes of the Board of Education, XI, (1922), p. 13.

⁵Ibid., pp. 172-173.

ages, as well as the location of housing for "White", "Colored", and "Undetermined".

The basic provisions of the ordinance included:

Six Use Districts

- U1 Dwelling House District
- U2 Apartment House District
- U3 Local Retail Store District
- U4 Commercial District
- U5 Industrial District
- U6 Industrial District (Semi-nuisance)

Five Area Districts

- A1 Area District 5,000 sq. ft./family
- A2 Area District 2,000 sq. ft./family
- A3 Area District 1,250 sq. ft./family
- A4 Area District 625 sq. ft./family
- A5 Area District 312 sq. ft./family

Four Height Districts

- H1 or Height District $2\frac{1}{2}$ stories or 35 ft.
- H2 or Height District 50 ft.
- H3 or Height District 100 ft.
- H4 or Height District 150 ft.

Three Race Districts

- R1 or White District
- R2 or Colored District
- R3 or Undertermined⁶

Particularly germane to this discussion are the racial districts which were proposed to promote public peace, order, safety, and general welfare. Section 20 of the proposed ordinance is of particular concern, as it describes the legal provisions for the race districts:

⁶Robert Whitten, Tentative Zoning Ordinance for Atlanta, Georgia, revised draft, prepared for the use of the Ordinance Committee of the City Council, 1922.

. . . In a class R1 district that is within a dwelling house or apartment house district, no dwelling or apartment house shall be used to house colored families. In a class R2 district. . . no dwelling or apartment house shall be used to house white families.⁷

In order to avoid excessive rigidity, the ordinance allowed white employers to maintain colored servants in residential quarters on their property. And to provide an illusion of fairness, it guaranteed a colored resident the same rights with respect to his white servants.

Prior to the adoption of Whitten's zoning plan, the city council held three public hearings before deciding the issue. Opposition against the ordinance voiced at the hearings seemed to have come mainly from real estate men whose private interests were threatened by the measure. Atlanta Judge E.C. Kontz also opposed the ordinance and made several speeches denouncing the ordinance as "monstrous and unsound in principle." At one of the hearings he said:

. . . I am. . . opposed to the proposal to zone our city, and the hundreds of citizens who will be stripped of their legal rights by such a measure are going to fight it to the finish.⁸

Generally, the sentiment of citizens against zoning stemmed from their fear that the city was attempting to usurp private control of property.

⁷Atlanta Ordinance Book 26, 1922.

⁸Survey, April 22, p. 114.

The City Council passed the zoning ordinance on April 10, 1922, with a vote of twenty-four for and three against.⁹ The opposing votes came from Councilman J.R. Nutting, Alderman J.L. Carpenter, and Alderman F.L. Hunter—all three objecting to the ordinance on the grounds that it was "unconstitutional and an imposition on the citizens of the city." "Of all the laws we ever passed or tried to pass," said Alderman Carpenter, "this is the most vicious. It is destroying the rights of the people." Councilman Nutting called the ordinance unconstitutional in his statement that:

There is not a Supreme Court of a single state yet that has declared the essential features of this ordinance constitutional. It simply will not stand up in the courts.¹⁰

Undoubtedly, Councilman Nutting was referring to the previous two segregation ordinances passed by the Atlanta City Council which had been declared unconstitutional. The first ordinance was adopted on June 16, 1913 and prohibited "white persons and colored persons from residing in the same block." The ordinance was later amended on November 3, 1913 by Alderman Nutting:

⁹Atlanta Constitution, April 11, 1922, p. 1.

¹⁰Atlanta Constitution, April 11, 1922, pp. 1-2.
 Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60, (1917), 38 Sup. ct. 60, 62 l. ed. Seymour Toll, Zoned American, (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1969).

That no provisions of the foregoing ordinance shall cause any change in the status of the races as to present occupancy or ownership, and no member of either race shall be forced to move from any present location; but that the entire ordinance shall be operative as to the future. . ."

This ordinance even with the Amendment was declared unconstitutional in 1915 in the case of *Carey et al. v. City of Atlanta et al.* (1915)., wherein the State Supreme Court held:

The effect of the ordinance under consideration was to destroy the right of the individual to acquire, enjoy, and dispose of his property. Being of this character it was void as being opposed to the due-process clause of the constitution.¹¹

The second ordinance was passed by the city council in 1917 and prohibited blacks from occupying houses in a block where the greater number of dwellings were already occupied by whites. Frank Haden, a black man, challenged the legality of the ordinance when he was charged with living in a "white block" and therefore in violation of the race-segregation ordinance. The Georgia Supreme Court upheld the ordinance in the case of *Harden v. City of Atlanta* (1917).¹² However, that decision was reversed in the adjudication of *Glover et al. v. City of Atlanta et al.* (1918).,¹³ a decision

¹¹*Carey et al. v. City of Atlanta et al.* 143 Ga. 192 (1914).

¹²*Harden v. City of Atlanta*, 147 Ga. 248, 93 S.E. 401, (1917).

¹³*Glover et al. v. City of Atlanta et al.*, 148 Ga. 285,

based on the precedent established in the United States Supreme Court decision of *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917), which branded state and city imposed residential segregation as a violation of the fourteenth amendment.¹⁴

Whitten, nevertheless, defended the zoning enactment stating that "prior to zoning there was race segregation, but it was obtained in a way that intensified race hatred and failed to prevent enormous economic loss and the wiping out of the savings of thousands of poor families." Continuing to explain how zoning could promote city growth and development, Whitten asserted:

Hundreds of acres of land were left undeveloped or poorly developed in various parts of the city because of uncertainty --because no one knew whether its future was to be "white" or "colored."

Suggesting the benefits that blacks would receive from this zoning ordinance Whitten claimed: "The zoning in creating 'colored districts' provides adequate areas for the growth of the colored population." "The colored people in these large homogeneous districts are given a better chance for the development of a more intelligent and responsible citizenship than was possible under former conditions." The city planner concluded by stating:

A race riot is a terrible possibility

96 S.E. 562, (1918).

¹⁴*Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U.S. 60, (1917), 38 Sup. ct. 60, 62 l. ed.

in many southern cities. Atlanta in establishing colored residence districts has removed one of the most potent causes of race conflict. This is perhaps a sufficient justification for race zoning which is simply a common sense method of dealing with facts as they are.¹⁵

Despite Whitten's rationalization of the ordinance, the Board of Zoning Appeals was kept in constant disarray with petitions requesting changes in zone classification. Finally, a denied petition resulted in a law suit filed by an Atlanta property owner, Mrs. Chauncey Smith, who wanted to construct a retail store on her property which was zoned residential. In *Smith v. City of Atlanta*, the Georgia Supreme Court held both the zoning ordinance and the enabling act passed by the state legislature unconstitutional and granted an injunction against enforcement of the ordinance. The case was appealed, but the United States Supreme Court refused to review the decision of the Georgia Supreme Court.¹⁶

Following the *Smith v. City of Atlanta* decision, zoning was continuously subject to change, adjustments, and problems of legality until a state charter amendment that made "constitutional zoning and planning laws" was submitted to the voters for ratification on November 6, 1928. By a

¹⁵Robert Whitten, "Social Aspects of Zoning", Survey, June 15, 1922, p. 418.

¹⁶*Smith v. City of Atlanta*, 161 Ga. 769, 132 S.E. 66.

majority of 8,594 to 1,996, the amendment was ratified-- providing cities with populations greater than 25,000 legal sanction for the establishment of zoning and planning laws.¹⁷ The City Council adopted an acceptable comprehensive zoning ordinance on December 2, 1929 which, needless to say, did not include a section for race-segregation.¹⁸

However, the race districts established by the 1922 Zoning Ordinance, although unconstitutional, were being legally maintained through private agreements. Generally termed restrictive covenants, these agreements existed between private parties or property owners and established limitations on the use of real property. Covenants imposed a restraint on persons taking possession of property by restricting full possessory rights, thereby creating a duty to do or refrain from doing some act relative to possession of the property. Imposing race restrictions on real estate ownership, restrictive covenants were generally included as conditions in deeds and real estate contracts, and could be enforced in the courts.

Examples of restrictive covenants appeared in Fulton County deed books stipulating racial terms in land titles, wherein the purchaser agreed:

¹⁷Atlanta Journal, November 6, 1928, p. 20 and November 7, 1928, p. 10.

¹⁸City Council Minutes, Atlanta, Georgia, December 2, 1929.

. . .that he will not sell, convey, lease, rent or donate said lot to a negro, or a person of any degree of negro blood, or any person of bad character. . .the forgoing covenant shall be running with the land and shall be kept by the heirs and assigns forever.¹⁹

Prior to May, 1948, it was generally held that covenants containing race restrictions as conditions in deeds and real estate contracts, were within the protection of the fourteenth amendment, and could be legally enforced. Therefore, with this arrangement, the racial districts in the 1922 Atlanta zoning ordinance were "legally" maintained. However, in *Shelly v. Kramer*, and *McGhee v. Sipes* (decided together) the Supreme Court ruled in 1948 that "such agreements or covenants are not judicially enforceable for the reason that such enforcement would constitute state action within the prohibition of the equal protection provision of the fourteenth amendment."²⁰

Partly inspired by the failure of custom, tradition, and previous segregation ordinances, the 1922 Zoning Ordinance, not only determined the location of black schools, but also defined the areas of black community development

¹⁹Deed Books, 566, p. 504 in the office of the clerk of the Superior Courts of Fulton County, Georgia.

²⁰*Shelly v. Kramer*, 334 U.S. 1, 68 Sup. ct. 836, (1948).

in Atlanta. When the unconstitutionality of the plan was finally accepted, other measures were employed to accomplish its goals, including restrictive covenants and Ku Klux Klan intimidation.

CONCLUSION

Many forces were operative in Atlanta during the early 1920's that became elements for black community development. The first of these forces was a mentality existing in American Society that encouraged and developed the revived Ku Klux Klan into a powerful organization with the ability to operate legally and extra-legally toward its goal of white supremacy. The Klan developed political influence at every level of Atlanta politics. Aided by lynching, "Jim Crow" and various other forms of segregation, race prejudice and black repression, the Invisible Empire assisted in the creation of an atmosphere in Atlanta that was not conducive to black development.

Within an atmosphere conditioned by the Ku Klux Klan, many blacks, however, attempted to improve their condition in the city. Utilizing the political apparatus, black voters organized a campaign in the black community to defeat the 1919 tax increase and school bond referendum, after sponsors admitted to black representatives that the measure did not contain any benefits for the black community. A controversy followed the first defeat of the referendum, and a second election was held: it also was defeated. The negative power

of black voters in both of the 1919 elections caused sponsors of the 1921 elections to seek black support, with the promise that the black community received improved educational facilities, which materialized with the construction of the city's first black public high school.

The construction of Booker T. Washington on the west side of the city resulted from the recommendation of George Strayer and N.L. Engelhardt, two educational consultants employed by the Board of Education to survey the school system. The first high school was constructed on the west side because Ward 1 contained the largest black population and was zoned to increase.

The zoning plan was being developed for the city during this period by Robert Whitten. This zoning ordinance was the third generation of unconstitutional attempts on the part of Atlanta lawmakers to keep the races separate. Nevertheless, the goals of the plan were accomplished with restrictive covenants and various other extra-legal methods. Therefore, the areas for Atlanta's black community was prescribed and within those areas blacks developed a sense of community.

APPENDIX

TENTATIVE ZONING ORDINANCE
FOR
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

(*Revised Draft*)

Prepared for the use of the Ordinance
Committee of the Council by Robert H.
Whitten, City Planning Consultant ...

TENTATIVE ZONING ORDINANCE.

An Ordinance establishing a zone plan regulating the location of trades, industries, apartment houses, and other uses of property, the area of lots, the location and size of yards, the height of buildings, the alignment of buildings near street frontages and the location of houses for white and colored families.

Whereas, the Mayor and General Council of the City of Atlanta deem it necessary in the interest of the public health, safety, order, comfort, convenience, prosperity and general welfare to establish a general zone plan which will promote home ownership, protect the residence sections, prevent congestion, increase industrial efficiency, conserve property values and direct the building of the city in accord with a well-considered plan for the use and development of all property throughout the city, now therefore,

Be it Ordained by the Mayor and General Council of the City of Atlanta, Ga.:

Section 1. Districts and Zone Map. For the purpose of regulating and restricting the location of trades, industries, apartment houses and other uses of property, the number of square feet of lot area per family housed, the location and size of yards and the height of buildings, the City of Atlanta is hereby divided into four classes of use districts termed respectively class U1 or dwelling house districts, class U2 or apartment house districts, class U3 or business districts and class U4 or industrial districts; and into three classes of height districts termed respectively class H1, H2, and H3; and into five classes or area districts termed respectively class A1, A2, A3, A4 and A5; all as shown on the zone map which accompanies this Ordinance and is hereby declared to be part hereof. The use, height and area districts designated on said zone map are hereby established. The map designations and the map designation rules which accompany said map are hereby declared to be part thereof. No building or premises shall be erected or used except in conformity with the regulations herein prescribed for the use, height and area districts in which such building or premises is located.

Section 2. Definitions. Certain words in this ordinance are defined for the purpose hereof as follows:

(a) Words used in the present tense include the future; the singular number includes the plural and the plural the singular; the word "lot" includes the word "plot," the word "building" includes the word "structure."

(b) The "street line" is the dividing line between the street and the lot.

(c) The "established grade" is the elevation of the street curb as fixed by the city.

(d) The "natural grade" is the elevation of the undisturbed natural surface of the ground adjoining the building.

(e) The "height of a building" is the vertical distance measured at the center line of its principal front from the established grade or from the natural grade, if higher than the established grade, to the level of the highest point in the coping of flat roofs or to the deck line of a mansard roof or to the mean height of the highest gable of a pitched roof or to half the height of a hipped roof. Where no roof beams exist or there are structures wholly or partly above the roof the height shall be measured to the level of the highest point of the building.

(f) A "rear yard" is an open unoccupied space on the same lot with a building between the rear line of the building and the rear line of the lot.

(g) A "front yard" is an open unoccupied space on the same lot with a building between the front line of the building and the front line of the lot.

(h) A "side yard" is an open unoccupied space on the same lot with a building situated between the building and the side line of the lot and extending through from the street or from the front yard to the rear yard or to the rear line of the lot. Any lot line not a rear line or a front line shall be deemed a side line.

(i) The "least dimension" of a yard is the least of the horizontal dimensions of such yard. If two opposite sides of a yard are not parallel such least dimension shall be deemed to be the mean distance between them.

(j) A "lot" is a parcel of land occupied by one building and the accessory buildings or uses customarily incident to it including such open spaces as are required by this ordinance and such open spaces as are arranged and designed to be used in connection with such buildings.

(k) A "family" is any number of individuals living and cooking together on the premises as a single housekeeping unit.

(l) A "dwelling" is a building arranged, intended or designed to be occupied by not more than two families living independently of each other and doing their own cooking upon the premises.

(m) An "apartment house" is a building arranged, intended or designed to be occupied by three or more families living independently of each other and doing their own cooking upon the premises or by three or more individuals or groups of individuals living independently but having a common heating system and a general dining room.

(n) A "non-conforming use" is one that does not comply with the regulations of the use district in which it is situated.

(o) "Public notice" of a hearing or proceeding means 10 days notice of the time and place thereof printed in a newspaper of general circulation in the city.

(p) An "accessory" use or building is a use or building customarily incident to and located on the same lot with another use or building.

Section 3. Classification of uses. For the purpose of this ordinance, the various uses of buildings and premises are divided into groups, classes and subdivisions as set forth in the following classification of uses:

Group 1.—Residence Classes.

Class U1 uses: (Dwelling house).

- (1) Dwelling.
- (2) Church. School. Public Library. Public Museum.
- (3) Community center building. Private club, excepting a club the chief activity of which is a service customarily carried on as a business. Philanthropic or eleemosynary use or institution other than a penal or correctional institution. Hospital or sanitarium other than for the insane or feeble-minded.
- (4) Public park. Public playground. Public recreation building. Water supply reservoir, tower or filter bed.
- (5) Railway passenger station. Railway right-of-way, not including railway yards.
- (6) Farming. Green House. Nursery. Truck gardening.

Class U2 uses: (Apartment house)

- (1) Apartment house.
- (2) Hotel.

Group 2. Business and Industrial Classes.

Class U3 uses: (Business)

- (1) Bank. Office. Studio. Telephone exchange. Wholesale sales office or sample room. Oil filling station. Fire station. Ice delivery station.
- (2) Retail trade or shop for custom work or the making of articles to be sold at retail on the premises. Restaurant. Theater. Moving picture show. Any use not included in any other class, provided such use is not noxious or offensive by reason of the emission of odor, dust, smoke, gas or noise.
- (3) Billboard or advertising sign.
- (4) Garage or repair shop for motor vehicles. Hand laundry. Electric sub-station.
- (5) Storage in bulk of, or warehouse for, such material as building material, contractor's equipment, clothing, cotton, drugs, drygoods, feed, fertilizer, food, fuel, furniture, hardware, ice, machinery, metals, oil and petroleum in quantities less than tank car lots, paint and paint materials, pipe, rubber, shop supplies, tobacco, or wool. Street car barn.

Class U4 uses: (Industrial)

- (1) Wholesale produce sales room. Wholesale produce market.
- (2) Carpet cleaning. Steam laundry.
- (3) Cold storage plant. Creamery. Bottling works. Milk bottling or central distribution station.
- (4) Grain elevator. Blacksmith, horse-shoeing or wagon shop. Stable or wagon shed for more than five horses or wagons. Veterinary hospital.
- (5) Street car repair shop. Freight terminal. Railroad yards.
- (6) Manufacturing or industrial operation of any kind other than a class U3, U5 or U6 use.

Class U5 uses: (Industrial—special permit)

- (1) Scrap iron or junk storage. Scrap paper or rag storage or baling.
- (2) Paper manufacture. Plaster manufacture.
- (3) Ammonia, bleaching powder or other chemical plants emitting corrosive or toxic fumes carrying beyond the limits of the premises, other than uses included in class U6. Asphalt manufacture or refining. Coal distillation including manufacture or derivation of the by-products. Coke ovens. Cresote manufacture or treatment. Gas manufacture from coal or petroleum or the storage thereof. Carbon or lamp black manufacture. Petroleum storage (in quantities greater than tank car lots). Tar distillation.
- (4) Central station light or power plant.
- (5) Boiler making. Locomotives manufacture. Railway car manufacture. Railroad roundhouse or shop. Reducing or refining aluminum, copper, tin or zinc. Steel furnace, blooming or rolling mill. Power forge. Structural iron or pipe works.
- (6) Storage of live poultry or poultry killing or dressing except for sale at retail on the premises. Incineration of garbage, offal, dead animals or refuse. Municipal garbage reduction plant. Raw hides or skins—storage, curing or tanning. Soap manufacture.

Class U6 uses: (Prohibited)

- (1) Petroleum refining.
- (2) Cement, lime, gypsum or plaster of Paris manufacture.

- (3) Chlorine or hydrochloric, nitric, sulfuric, or sulphuric acid manufacture. Smelting of copper, tin, zinc or iron ores.
- (4) Explosives, manufacture or storage.
- (5) Distillation of bones. Fat rendering. Glue manufacture.
- (6) Slaughter house.
- (7) Fertilizer manufacture. Garbage, offal or dead animals reduction or dumping, not including a municipal garbage reduction plant.

Group 3. Special Classes.

Class U7 uses: (Special permit)

- (1) Aviation field.
- (2) Crematory.
- (3) Cemetery.
- (4) Sewage disposal plant.
- (5) Refuse dump.

Section 4. Dwelling house district. (a) In a class U1 or dwelling house district no building or premises shall be used, and no building shall be erected which is arranged, intended or designed to be used, for a class U2, U3, U4, U5 or U6 use. In a dwelling house district no building or premises shall be used, and no building shall be erected, which is arranged, intended or designed to be used, except for a class U1 use.

(b) In a dwelling house district no building shall be erected which is arranged, intended or designed for a use enumerated in subdivision (3) of class U1 uses, unless such building is located:

- (1) On a lot already devoted to a use enumerated in said subdivision;
- (2) On a lot fronting on a portion of a street between two intersecting streets in which portion there exists a building of a kind enumerated in said sub-division;
- (3) On a lot immediately adjoining or immediately opposite on the other side of the street from a business or industrial district; or
- (4) On a lot determined by the board of zoning appeals after public notice and hearing to be so located that such building will in the judgment of the said board substantially serve the public convenience and welfare, and will not substantially and permanently injure the appropriate use of neighboring property.

Section 5. Apartment house district. (a) In a class U2 or apartment house district no building or premises shall be used, and no building shall be erected which is arranged, intended or designed to be used, for a class U3, U4, U5 or U6 use. In an apartment house district no building or premises shall be used, and no building shall be erected which is arranged, intended or designed to be used, except for a class U1 or U2 use.

(b) In an apartment house district no building shall be erected which is arranged, intended or designed for a use enumerated in subdivision (3) of class U1 uses, unless such building is located:

- (1) On a lot already devoted to a use enumerated in said subdivision;
- (2) On a lot fronting on a portion of a street between two intersecting streets in which portion there exists a building of a kind enumerated in said subdivision;
- (3) On a lot immediately adjoining or immediately opposite on the other side of the street from a business or industrial district; or
- (4) On a lot determined by the board of zoning appeals after public notice and hearing to be so located that such building will in the judgment of the said board substan-

tially serve the public convenience and welfare and will not substantially and permanently injure the appropriate use of neighboring property.

Section 6. Accessory uses in residence districts. An accessory use customarily incident to a class U1 or U2 use shall be permitted in, respectively, a class U1 or U2 district. In a dwelling house district a private garage permitted as an accessory use shall not provide storage for more than one motor vehicle for each 2,000 square feet of the lot area. In an apartment house district a private garage permitted as an accessory use shall not provide storage for more than one motor vehicle for each 500 square feet of the lot area. A billboard, signboard or advertising sign shall in no case be permitted as an accessory use. The placing of a "for sale" or "for rent" sign shall, however, be permitted as an accessory use. A store, trade or business shall not be permitted as an accessory use except that the office of a physician, dentist or surgeon may be located in the dwelling or apartment used by such physician, dentist or surgeon, as his private residence, and except that any person carrying on a customary home occupation, may do so in a dwelling or apartment used by him as his private residence. In a dwelling or apartment occupied as a private residence, one or more rooms may be rented or table board furnished. A restaurant or public dining room may be located in a hotel or apartment house as an accessory use. A news stand may be located in a railway passenger station as an accessory use.

Section 7. Business district. (a) In a class U3 or business district no building or premises shall be used, and no building shall be erected which is arranged, intended or designed to be used, for a class U4, U5 or U6 use. In a business district no building or premises shall be used, and no building shall be erected which is arranged, intended or designed to be used, except for a class U1, U2, or U3 use.

(b) An accessory use customarily incident to a class U3 use shall be permitted in a business district. A class U6 use shall not be permitted as an accessory use.

Section 8. Industrial District. (a) In a class U4 or industrial district no building or premises shall be used, and no building shall be erected which is arranged, intended or designed to be used, for a class U6 use. In an industrial district no building or premises shall be used, and no building shall be erected which is arranged, intended or designed to be used, except for a class U1, U2, U3, U4, or U5 use.

(b) In an industrial district no building shall be erected which is arranged, intended or designed to be used for a class U5 use unless such building is located:

- (1) On a lot already devoted to a class U5 use; or
- (2) On a lot located within 100 feet of an existing class U5 or U6 use; or
- (3) On a lot determined by the Board of Zoning Appeals after public notice and hearing to be so located that such building will, in the judgment of the said board, substantially serve the public convenience and welfare, and will not substantially and permanently injure the appropriate use of neighboring property.

(c) A class U6 use shall not be permitted as an accessory use in an industrial district.

Section 9. Prohibited and special permit uses. A class U6 use may not be located within the present limits of the City of Atlanta. A class U7 use may be located only on special permit as provided in the following section.

Section 10. Use district exceptions. (a) The board of zoning appeals may in a specific case, after public notice and hearing and subject to appropriate conditions and safeguards, determine and vary the application of the use district regulations herein established in harmony with their general purposes and intent as follows:

(1) Permit the extension of a building or use into a more restricted district immediately adjacent thereto but not more than 50 feet beyond the boundary line of the district in which such building or use is authorized:

(2) Permit the extension of a non-conforming use or building upon the lot occupied by such use or building at the time of the passage of this ordinance;

(3) Permit in a use district any use deemed by the board to be in general keeping with the uses authorized in such district;

(4) Grant in undeveloped sections of the city temporary and conditional permits for not more than two year periods for structures and uses that do not conform to the regulations herein prescribed for the use district in which they are to be located; or

(5) Permit the location of a class U7 use in any use district provided such use in such location will in the judgment of the board of zoning appeals substantially serve the public convenience and welfare and will not substantially and permanently injure the appropriate use of the neighboring property.

(b) A class U7 use existing in any use district at the time of the passage of this ordinance shall be deemed an authorized use upon the plot devoted to such use at the time of the passage of this ordinance.

Section 11. Non-conforming uses. A non-conforming use existing at the time of the passage of this ordinance may be continued. A non-conforming use shall not be extended except as authorized by the preceding section; but the extension of a use to any portion of a building, which portion was arranged or designed for such non-conforming use at the time of the passage of this ordinance, shall not be deemed the extension of a non-conforming use. A building arranged, designed or devoted to a non-conforming use at the time of the passage of this ordinance may not be reconstructed or structurally altered to an extent exceeding in aggregate cost, during any 10 year period, 60 per cent of the assessed value of the building unless the use of said building is changed to a conforming use. A non-conforming use may not be changed unless changed to a higher use. A non-conforming use if changed to a conforming use may not thereafter be changed back to any non-conforming use. For the purpose of this ordinance a use shall be deemed to be changed if changed from a use included in a subdivision of a use class to a use not included in such subdivision. For the purpose of this ordinance a non-conforming use shall be deemed to be changed to a higher use if the use to which such non-conforming use is changed is a use included in a subdivision of a use class that in the arrangement of classes and subdivisions in the classification of uses precedes the subdivision in which such non-conforming use is included.

Section 12. Height districts.

(a) In a class H1 district no building shall be erected to a height in excess of 50 feet.

(b) In a class H2 district no building shall be erected to a height in excess of 100 feet.

(c) In a class H3 district no building shall be erected to a height in excess of 150 feet.

Section 13. Height district exceptions. (a) The provisions of the preceding section shall not apply to restrict the height of a church spire, belfry, clock tower, wireless tower, chimney, water tank, elevator bulkhead or storage tower or scenery loft.

(b) The board of zoning appeals may, after public notice and hearing and subject to such conditions and safeguards as the board may prescribe to protect the appropriate use of neighboring property, permit the erection of a building or portion of a building covering not more than 25 per cent of the area of the lot to a height in excess of the limits prescribed in the preceding section.

(c) The board of zoning appeals may, after public notice and hearing, permit the erection of an addition to an existing building to the same height as such existing building where such addition is essential to the completion of the existing building as planned.

(d) The Board of Zoning Appeals, may after public notice and hearing, permit the extension of a building existing at the time of the passage of this ordinance, by the construction of additional stories above the height limit herein provided, provided that the original plans approved by the Building Inspector provided for such additional stories and such building was actually designed and constructed to carry such additional stories.

Section 14. Lot area per family. (a) In a class A1 district no building shall be erected or altered to accommodate or make provision for more than one family for each 5,000 square feet of the area of the lot if an interior lot or for each 4,000 square feet if a corner lot. Provided that one single family dwelling may be erected on any lot separately owned at the time of the passage of this ordinance or on any numbered lot in a recorded subdivision that was on record in the office of the Clerk of the Superior Court at the time of the passage of this ordinance.

(b) In a class A2 district no building shall be erected or altered to accommodate or make provision for more than one family for each 2500 square feet of the area of the lot if an interior lot or for each 2000 square feet if a corner lot.

(c) In a class A3 district no building shall be erected or altered to accommodate or make provision for more than one family for each 1250 square feet of the area of the lot if an interior lot or for each 1000 square feet if a corner lot.

(d) In a class A4 district no building shall be erected or altered to accommodate or make provision for more than one family for each 625 square feet of the area of the lot if an interior lot, or for each 500 square feet if a corner lot.

(e) In a class A5 district there shall be no requirement as to number of square feet of lot area per family.

(f) In computing such area of the lot for the purposes of this section, any part of the area of any corner lot in excess of 8,000 square feet shall be considered an interior lot.

Section 15. Zone map designations. When definite distances in feet are not shown on the zone map, the district boundaries on the zone map are intended to be along existing street, alley, lot or property lines or extensions of the same and if the exact location of such line is not clear it shall be determined by the Board of Zoning Appeals, due consideration being given to the location as indicated by the scale of the zone map. Where the streets or alleys on the ground differ from the streets or alleys as shown on the zone map the Board

of Zoning Appeals may apply the district designations on the map to the streets or alleys on the ground in such manner as to conform to the intent and purpose of this ordinance. Land or premises within a street, alley, park, cemetery or other undesignated area on the zone map shall be governed by the regulations of the use, height and area district adjoining such land or premises and if adjoined by more than one class of use, height or area district, each portion of such land or premises shall be governed by the regulations of the use, height and area district nearest to such portion of land or premises.

Section 16. Side yards in residence districts. In a dwelling house or apartment house district, for every building erected, there shall be a side yard along each lot line other than a front line or rear line. Each dwelling and each apartment house shall be deemed a separate building and shall have side yards as above prescribed except that in an apartment house district any number of dwellings may be built as a continuous structure and be considered a single building for the purpose of this section. At least 20 per cent of the width of the lot shall be devoted to side yards but not more than 16 feet need be so devoted. In a dwelling house district the least dimension of the side yard shall not be less than three feet; provided that if the building is more than two and one-half stories in height the least dimension of the side yard shall not be less than one-sixth of the height of the building. In an apartment house district the least dimension of the side yard shall not be less than one-sixth of the height of the building.

Section 17. Rear yards in residence districts. In a dwelling house or an apartment house district every building erected shall have a rear yard. In a dwelling house district the least dimension of the rear yard shall be at least 15 per cent of the depth of the lot, but such least dimension need not be more than thirty feet. In an apartment house district the least dimension of the rear yard shall be not less than one-half of the height of the building. 40 per cent of the area of the rear yard may be occupied by a one story accessory building not more than 15 feet in height.

Section 18. Side and rear yard exceptions. (a) The area required in a side or rear yard shall be open from the established grade or from the natural grade if higher than the established grade to the sky, unobstructed except for the ordinary projections of window sills, belt courses, cornices and other ornamental features to the extent of not more than four inches, except that within five feet of the street wall, a cornice may project not over three feet into such yard, and provided that if the building is not over 2½ stories in height, the cornice may project not more than 2½ feet into such yard.

(b) A building and any accessory building erected on the same lot shall, for the purposes of side and rear yard requirements, be considered as a single building.

(c) Where a rear yard or side yard in a dwelling house or apartment house district abuts an alley the yard shall be deemed to extend to the center of such alley.

Section 19. Front yards in residence districts. (a) Between a building line as herein established and the street line no building or portion of a building extending above the established grade may be erected. In dwelling house and apartment house districts building lines are hereby established as follows:

(1) On a street frontage on either side of a street where 50 per cent or more of such frontage between two intersecting streets, but excluding the frontage along the

side line of a corner lot or outside such dwelling house or apartment house district, is improved with buildings that are set back from the street line or where all the buildings though occupying less than 50 per cent but more than 20 per cent of such frontage are set back from the street line, the alignment of the existing buildings shall be the building line. Minor irregularities in such alignment of existing buildings may be disregarded by the board of zoning appeals in defining and applying this building line regulation or said board may, when in its opinion the general purpose and intent of this paragraph will be better served thereby, determine that the average distance the existing buildings are back from the street line, either for such entire frontage or for any part thereof, shall be the building line.

(2) On a street frontage on either side of a street between two intersecting streets, but excluding the frontage along the side line of a corner lot or outside of such dwelling house or apartment house district, where not more than 20 per cent of such frontage is improved with buildings that are built at the street line and where the provisions of subdivision (1) of this paragraph do not create a building line, the distance of the building line back from the street line shall be 20 per cent of the average or normal depth of the lots having their front lines along such street frontage but such distance back from the street line need not be more than 40 feet. Where in any portion of such street frontage there are lots of markedly less depth than the normal, the board of zoning appeals in defining and applying this building line regulation may, when in its opinion the general purpose and intent of this paragraph will be better served thereby, divide such street frontage into sections for the application of the above 20 per cent building line requirement.

(3) Along the side line of a corner lot the distance of the building line back from the street line shall be 10 per cent of the width of such lot, but such distance back from the street line need not be more than 10 feet. No building line shall be required along the side line of a corner lot where the rear of such lot adjoins a street frontage along which no building line is required by this ordinance.

(b) Exceptions. An alley or court not exceeding 20 feet in width shall not be deemed a street for the purposes of this section. A one story unenclosed porch may be erected beyond the building line. On a lot adjoining a street frontage along which either no building line is required or a building line nearer to the street is provided, a building may be erected beyond the building line herein provided to a point midway between such building line and the building line along such adjoining frontage and extending not to exceed 50 feet from such adjoining frontage. Lots separated by an alley not more than 16 feet in width shall be deemed adjoining.

(c) Appeals. Whenever any parcel of land now separately owned and which was so owned prior to the passage of this ordinance is of such restricted area that it cannot be appropriately improved without building beyond the building line established by this section, the board of zoning appeals may on application in a specific case after public notice and hearing, authorize the construction of a building beyond said building line to an extent necessary to secure an appropriate improvement of such parcel of land. Whenever the distance of the building line back from the street line as established by the alignment of the existing buildings as provided in subdivision (1) of

paragraph (a) of this section is more than 40 feet or more than 20 per cent of the average or normal depth of the lots having their front lines along such street frontage, the board of zoning appeals may on application, after public notice and hearing, permit the erection of buildings nearer to the street line but not nearer than would be allowed under the rule provided in subdivision (2) of paragraph (a) of this section.

Section 20. White and colored residence districts. For the promotion of the public peace, order, safety and general welfare and for the further regulation of the use of the residence districts, as shown on the zone map, class R1 or white districts, and class R2 or colored districts are hereby established as shown on said zone map. In a class R1 district that is within a dwelling house or apartment house district, no dwelling or apartment house shall be used to house colored families. In a class R2 district that is within a dwelling house or apartment house district, no dwelling or apartment house shall be used to house white families. Servants quarters housing either white or colored families may be maintained if accessory to and on the same lot with another residence. Provided that the use existing at the time of the passage of this ordinance of any dwelling or apartment house for white families or for colored families may be continued.

Section 21. Enforcement; board of zoning appeals.

This ordinance shall be enforced by the inspector of buildings under the rules and regulations of the board of zoning appeals. The chief of construction, the superintendent of electrical affairs and the chairman of the ordinance committee of the general council are hereby constituted a board of zoning appeals for the purpose of this ordinance. All meetings of the board of zoning appeals shall be public. The board of zoning appeals shall keep minutes of its proceedings, showing the vote of each member upon every question, or, if absent or failing to vote, indicate such fact. The board of zoning appeals shall adopt from time to time such rules and regulations as they may deem necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this ordinance. Any decision of the inspector of buildings made in the enforcement of this ordinance may be appealed to the board of zoning appeals by any person claiming to be adversely affected by such decision. Where there are practical difficulties or unnecessary hardships in the way of carrying out the strict letter of the provisions of this ordinance, the board of zoning appeals shall have the power in a specific case to vary any such provision in harmony with its general purpose and intent so that the public health, safety and general welfare may be secured and substantial justice done.

Section 22. Interpretation; purpose. In interpreting and applying the provisions of this ordinance, they shall be held to be the minimum requirements adopted for the promotion of the public health, safety, comfort, convenience and general welfare. The lot or yard areas required by this ordinance for a particular building shall not be diminished and shall not be included as a part of the required lot or yard areas of any other building. The lot or yard areas of buildings existing at the time of the passage of this ordinance shall not be diminished below the requirements herein provided for buildings hereafter erected and such required areas shall not be included as a part of the required areas of any building hereafter erected. This ordinance shall not repeal, abrogate, annul or in any way impair or interfere with any existing provisions of law or ordinance or any rules or regula-

tions previously adopt or issued or which shall be adopted or issued pursuant to law relating to the use of buildings or premises; nor shall this ordinance interfere with or abrogate or annul any easements, covenants or other agreements between parties; provided, however, that where this ordinance imposes a greater restriction upon the use of buildings or premises or upon the height of buildings or requires larger yards than are imposed or required by such existing provisions of law or ordinance or by such rules or regulations or by such easements, covenants or agreements, the provisions of this ordinance shall control.

Section 23. Amendments. The general council may from time to time on its own motion or on petition, after public notice and hearing, amend the regulations and districts herein established. Every such proposed amendment shall be referred by the general council to the city planning commission for report. Whenever the owners of 50 per cent of the land in any area shall present a petition duly signed and acknowledged to the general council requesting an amendment of the regulations prescribed for such area, it shall be the duty of the general council to vote upon such amendment within 90 days of the filing of same by the petitioners with the city clerk. If any area is hereafter transferred to another district by a change in the district boundaries by amendment as provided in this section, the provisions of this ordinance with regard to buildings or premises existing at the time of the passage of this ordinance shall apply to buildings or premises existing in such transferred area at the time of the passage of such amendment.

Section 24. Completion and restoration of existing buildings. Nothing herein contained shall require any change in the plans, construction or designated use of a building for which a building permit has been heretofore issued and the construction of which shall have been diligently prosecuted within 90 days of the date of such permit, and the ground story framework of which, including the second tier of beams, shall have been completed within one year of the date of such permit, and which

entire building shall be completed according to such plans, as filed, within three years from the date of the passage of this ordinance. Nothing in this ordinance shall prevent the restoration of a building wholly or partly destroyed by fire, explosion, act of God or act of the public enemy subsequent to the passage of this ordinance or prevent a change of such existing use under the limitations provided in section 11. Nothing in this ordinance shall prevent the restoration of a wall declared unsafe by the inspector of buildings.

Section 25. Penalty for violation. The owner or owners of any building or premises or part thereof, where anything in violation of this ordinance shall be placed, or shall exist, and any architect, builder or contractor who may be employed to assist in the commission of any such violation and all persons or corporations who shall violate any of the provisions of this ordinance or fail to comply therewith, or any requirements thereof or who shall build in violation of any detailed statement of plans submitted and approved thereunder, shall for each and every violation or non-compliance be guilty of an offense and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not more than two hundred dollars or sentenced to work on the public work for not exceeding 30 days, either or both penalties to be inflicted in the discretion of the Recorder. Each day during which such violation shall continue shall constitute a separate offense.

Section 26. Invalidity of a part. The sections, subsections, districts and building lines forming part of or established by this ordinance and the several parts, provisions and regulations thereof are hereby declared to be independent sections, subsections, districts, building lines, parts, provisions and regulations, and the holding of any such section, subsection, district, building line, part, provision or regulation thereof to be unconstitutional, void or ineffective for any cause shall not affect nor render invalid any other such section, subsection, district, building line, part, provision or regulation thereof.

Section 27. When effective. This ordinance shall go into immediate effect upon its passage.

USE DISTRICTS

①	U1	Dwelling House District
②	U2	or Apartment House District
③	U3	or Local Retail Store District
④	U4	or Commercial District
⑤	U5	or Industrial District
⑥	U6	or Industrial District (Semi-Residential)

RACE DISTRICTS

⑦	R2	or Colored Dist.
⑧	R3	or Undetermined

AREA DISTRICTS

①	A1 Area Dist.	5000 Sq Ft Per Family
②	A2	2500
③	A3	1250
④	A4	625
⑤	A5	312

HEIGHT DISTRICTS

①	H1 Height Dist.	21 Stories or 35 Ft
②	H2	50 Ft
③	H3	100
④	H4	150

Unless Otherwise Specified:

- U1 Use District is in A2 Area District
H1 Height
R1 Race
- U2 Use District is in A4 Area District
H2 Height
R1 Race
- U3 Use District is in A3 Area District
H1 Height
- U4 Use District is in A3 Area District
H2 Height
- U5 Use District is in A2 Area District
H3 Height
- U6 Use District is in A1 Area District
H3 Height

EXCEPTIONS:

- (1) If a U5 District is Surrounded by an A1 Area District, it shall be in an A2 Area District.
- (2) If a U5 District is within or adjacent to a U2 District that is within an A4 Area District, it shall be in an A4 Area District and an H2 Height District.

**TENTATIVE ZONE PLAN
ATLANTA, GA.
CITY PLANNING COMMISSION**

JES L. KEY, CHAIRMAN
R.B. OTIS, VICE-CHAIRMAN
JOEL MURRY
NORM SMITH
FRED J. TERRY
FRANK PITTMAN
CHAS A. WICKERMAN

ROBT H. WHITTEN
CASSAULT
H. D. CUYLER, JR.
CASSAULT

Scale in Feet
0 100 200 300 400 500

TABLE XLI.
ATLANTA POPULATION, WHITE AND COLORED, BY WARDS.
Based on 1910 and 1920 Federal Census, and Estimates for 1940.*

Ward Number	1910	1920	Estimate for 1940	Increase from 1910 to 1920	Estimated Increase from 1920 to 1940	Per Cent. of Increase	
						1910-1920	1920-1940 (Estimated)
1	19,166	21,346	27,323	2,180	5,977	11	28
2	19,749	23,289	30,276	3,540	6,987	18	30
3	26,496	26,828	38,632	332	11,804	1	44
4	9,752	21,918	33,973	12,166	12,055	125	55
5	12,302	15,684	25,565	3,382	9,881	27	63
6	25,895	27,009	25,118	1,114	-1,891	4	-7
7	7,132	13,175	32,542	6,043	19,367	85	147
8	6,618	15,655	38,511	9,037	22,856	137	146
9	8,811	21,152	55,630	12,341	34,478	140	163
10	6,632	10,530	24,219	3,898	13,689	59	130
Total, Entire City	142,553	196,586	331,789	54,033	135,203	38	69

TABLE XLVII.
POPULATION OF ATLANTA—WHITE AND COLORED—BY RESIDENTIAL, BUSINESS AND MANUFACTURING SECTIONS.
1920 Census.

	Total	White	Colored	Per Cent. White	Per Cent. Colored	Rank in Per Cent. White Population
A.—Residential Sections						
1. Ansley Park	15,080	13,527	1,553	89.7	10.3	8
2. Atlanta University	21,626	5,047	16,579	23.3	76.7	18
3. Bellwood	17,316	14,246	3,070	82.3	17.7	11
4. Capitol View	1,628	1,627	1	99.9	0.1	1
5. Druid Hills	567	511	56	90.1	9.9	6
6. East Atlanta	4,785	4,180	605	87.4	12.6	10
7. Edgewood	5,368	4,826	542	89.9	10.1	7
8. Forrest Avenue	13,225	7,906	5,319	59.8	40.2	15
9. Georgia Tech	1,359	1,279	80	94.1	5.9	4
10. Grant Park	20,804	14,197	6,607	68.2	31.8	14
11. Hollow	8,853	630	8,223	7.1	92.9	20
12. Inman Park	10,163	9,802	361	96.4	3.6	2
13. Oakland Cemetery	4,455	1,354	3,101	30.4	69.6	16
14. Oakland City	2,493	1,781	712	71.4	28.6	13
15. Pittsburg	4,717	947	3,770	20.1	79.9	19
16. St. Charles	4,320	4,073	247	94.3	5.7	3
17. South Atlanta	1,712	488	1,224	28.5	71.5	17
18. South Side	18,633	16,435	2,198	88.2	11.8	9
19. Spring Street	6,967	5,692	1,275	81.7	18.3	12
20. West End	12,895	11,920	975	92.4	7.6	5
B.—Business Section	15,373	11,549	3,824	75.1	24.9	..
C.—Manufacturing Section	4,247	2,936	1,311	69.1	30.9	..
Total, Entire City	196,586	134,953	61,633	68.6	31.4	..

TABLE XLIII.

ATLANTA POPULATION, COLORED, BY WARDS.

Based on 1910 and 1920 Federal Census, and Estimates for 1940*.

Ward Number	1910	1920	Estimate for 1940	Increase from 1910 to 1920	Estimated Increase from 1920 to 1940	Per Cent. of Increase	
						1910-1920	1920-1940 (Estimated)
1	12,180	16,454	24,044	4,274	7,590	35	46
2	3,817	5,561	9,083	1,744	3,522	46	63
3	7,179	7,141	10,431	-38	3,290	-1	46
4	2,978	14,317	27,178	11,339	12,861	381	90
5	2,210	2,972	5,113	762	2,141	34	72
6	6,988	7,229	6,782	241	-447	3	-6
7	738	1,100	3,254	362	2,154	49	196
8	1,059	1,355	3,851	296	2,496	28	184
9	1,814	1,808	5,563	-6	3,755	-0.3	208
10	2,898	3,696	8,477	798	4,781	28	129
Total, Entire City	41,861	61,633	103,776	19,772	42,143	47	68

TABLE L.

ATLANTA POPULATION, COLORED.

By Residential, Business and Manufacturing Sections.

Based on 1910 and 1920 Federal Census, and Estimates for 1940*.

A.—Residential Sections	1910	1920	Estimate for 1940	Increase from 1910 to 1920	Estimated Increase from 1920 to 1940	Per Cent. of Increase	
						1910-1920	1920 to 1940 (Estimated)
1. Ansley Park	1,113	1,553	3,076	440	1,523	40	98
2. Atlanta University	12,264	16,579	28,417	4,315	11,838	35	71
3. Bellwood	2,237	3,070	5,205	833	2,135	37	70
4. Capitol View (Not in 1910 Census)		1	206	...	205
5. Druid Hills	145	56	142	-89	86	-61	154
6. East Atlanta	532	605	1,675	73	1,070	14	177
7. Edgewood	774	452	1,190	-232	648	-30	120
8. Forrest Avenue	3,389	5,319	14,442	1,930	9,123	57	172
9. Georgia Tech.	47	80	505	33	425	70	531
10. Grant Park	6,255	6,607	9,770	352	3,163	6	48
11. Hollow	71	8,223	9,985	8,152	1,762	11,482	21
12. Inman Park	529	361	754	-168	393	-32	109
13. Oakland Cemetery	1,750	3,101	2,351	1,351	-750	77	-24
14. Oakland City	653	712	2,399	59	1,687	9	237
15. Pittsburg	1,863	3,770	8,270	1,907	4,500	102	119
16. St. Charles	119	247	499	128	252	108	102
17. South Atlanta	1,043	1,224	2,649	181	1,425	17	116
18. South Side	1,690	2,198	3,354	508	1,156	30	53
19. Spring Street	2,018	1,275	1,533	-743	258	-37	20
20. West End	654	975	3,454	321	2,479	49	254
B—Business Section	3,173	3,824	2,244	651	-1,580	21	-41
C—Manufacturing Section	1,542	1,311	1,656	-231	345	-15	26
Total, Entire City	41,861	61,633	103,776	19,772	42,143	47	68

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